2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Verde could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Barrera (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameroness there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Cayapas, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encante. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Ãñapa and Trivinio 'owned' some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Ãñapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /nĩiⁿa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiagudio Ainapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trinnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trinnio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Mariamito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trinnio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trinnio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trinnio for, and Mariamito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser.

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The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the *de facto* inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have been drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from [illegible], which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered,

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except when sold to a Negro or a White, if it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

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Nuru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father. Many years ago, the father of Nuru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Añapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Nuru's father. Nuru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred sucres that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty sucres which went to the chief.

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Some years later when both fathers were dead, Nuru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at